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ABSTRACT

Most early research on the impact of undocumented workers on the labor market held that it results in the widespread displacement of native workers. More recent and more sophisticated theory argues that immigrants, both legal and illegal, create jobs by consuming goods and services, and by starting new businesses. This latter idea may not be as generally true as some researchers have asserted, but recent findings do suggest that there is not a strong, positive correlation between the presence of undocumented workers and high unemployment rates. Even so, the issue of native worker replacement continues to be controversial (especially where blacks are concerned). Advocates on both sides have been unable to articulate strong methodological challenges to their opponents' studies. Actually, when the effects of undocumented immigration are analyzed in isolation, one cannot avoid the conclusion that both displacement and wage depression take place. This approach, however, fails to take into account compensating factors accompanying influxes of undocumented workers that tend to offset initial wage depression and displacement, including increased demand for goods and services, increased productivity, and lower prices. In short, the net, macroeconomic effects of recent immigrant flows appear to be neutral, or even positive. This finding presents an opportunity to direct the policy and legislative debate on immigration away from ideology and toward a greater, more critical understanding of the empirical data. (KH)

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UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS IN THE LABOR MARKET: RECENT RESEARCH FINDINGS (February 1985).

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ISSUE BRIEF

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Title: UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS IN THE LABOR MARKET: RECENT RESEARCH FINDINGS (Feb. 1985)

Contact: Charles Kamasaki or Dan Purtell at (202) 628-9600

I. BACKGROUND

Early researchers utilized theoretical models and general, published labor market data to estimate the labor market effects of the undocumented. Most of these researchers fit one of two categories. The first category includes those who believe that widespread displacement of native workers results from the employment of undocumented aliens. Vernon Briggs, an economist from the University of Texas, for example, suggested that increasing the supply of any commodity -- in this case labor -- would cut the price of that commodity (wages). Eventually, wage depression and increasingly poor working conditions were said to "drive out" native workers, resulting in "indirect displacement" of such workers. In addition, Briggs argued, some undocumented aliens directly displace natives from "good" jobs. Former Secretary of Labor F. Ray Marshall, immigration expert David North, and Department of Labor economist Marion Houstoun came to similar conclusions.

Another set of economists, including Michael Piore and Wayne Cornelius from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, came to far different conclusions. This category of researchers posited the existence of a dual or segmented labor market, with the vast majority of "good" jobs being supplemented by "bad," primarily menial, low-wage jobs. They argued that few native workers would take the "bad" jobs, and that undocumented aliens therefore filled a void in the labor market.

Cornelius has since characterized both types of research as "essentially conjectural analyses based on little or no real data."[1]

A second generation of research emerged in the late 1970s. North and Houstoun, Cornelius, and others began to collect field data to integrate into their theoretical models. However, the data used by these researchers were drawn from inadequate, limited samples and were typically interpreted in ways which merely supported the authors' original theoretical positions. In addition, these studies were attempting to address very complex issues while asking very simple questions. For example, they attempted to establish whether -- and to what degree -- displacement of native workers occurred without attempting to explain why labor markets operated in certain ways.

Theoretical arguments grew more sophisticated. Julian Simon of the University of Illinois, Niles Hansen of the University of Texas, and others argued that immigrants -- both legal and illegal -- create jobs by consuming goods and services, and by starting new businesses. Marshall and others refined the displacement thesis by arguing that minority and disadvantaged native workers are most vulnerable to unfair competition from the undocumented, irrespective of the macro-economic impact of the undocumented. Marshall also argued that the segmentation thesis assumes that many Americans are too lazy to take low-wage jobs, a charge he rebutted vigorously. Finally, Marshall and Briggs increased their use of normative arguments. For example,

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they argued that, to the extent that the presence of "illegal aliens" contributes to the retention of some highly competitive industries, the undocumented perpetuate "low-wage, low-productivity job systems that lower the average level of productivity in this country."[2]

In 1979, the Department of Labor, relying on the kind of supply-demand analysis used by Briggs, Marshall, et. al., estimated that one in five jobs held by undocumented aliens could be filled by a native worker. In other words, according to this study, the displacement rate of native workers by the undocumented is on the order of 20%.[3]

In 1981, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce released a study comparing unemployment rates of cities with large numbers of undocumented aliens to those of cities with small or no undocumented populations. The Chamber found that cities with large undocumented populations tended to have lower rates of unemployment than cities with small or nonexistent undocumented populations. The Chamber concluded that "there is no correlation between the unemployment rate and undocumented workers."[4] The Chamber study was rebutted by David North, who noted key methodological shortcomings in the Chamber's approach. Most observers -- including this writer -- accept North's critique. However, even when the data are more rigorously analyzed, the Chamber's main conclusion -- that there does not appear to be a strong, positive correlation between the presence of undocumented workers and high rates of unemployment -- seems to be accurate.

II. RECENT RESEARCH FINDINGS

Only recently have social scientists and others begun to examine the "real world" labor market effects of the undocumented worker phenomenon. Project Jobs, a 1982 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) enforcement initiative, provided an opportunity to test the validity of conflicting claims about displacement. INS reported 5,440 apprehensions of undocumented workers with an average wage of $4.81 per hour. According to a survey by the Los Angeles Times, about 80% of the jobs "freed" were filled again by undocumented workers. The survey found that, while many native workers applied for the open positions, very few chose to stay in those positions for more than a few days.[5]

The wage depression issue was studied by University of Texas economists Barton Smith and Robert Newman, who compared wages paid along the U.S.-Mexico border with wages in non-border areas. They found that the differential between the two areas was about eight percent. They concluded that the negative effect of the undocumented worker on wages was "not as severe as many have contended."[6] One possible problem with the Smith-Newman study is that some of the non-border areas studied included cities with large undocumented populations themselves, e.g., Houston.

Beginning in the early 1980s, Rice University economist Donald Huddle started to examine the construction industry in Houston in order to measure the impact of undocumented aliens on the blue-collar labor force. Huddle concluded that for every 10 undocumented workers, about seven native workers were displaced.[7] Huddle projected his findings over the entire U.S. construction industry -- and even into other industries -- and suggested that the net costs of displacement, welfare use, tax evasion, and increased welfare benefits for displaced workers amounted to billions of dollars annually. UCLA economist Estevan Flores and University of Texas sociologist Gilberto Cardenas vigorously attacked Huddle's findings and conclusions, noting, for

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example, that Huddle used the color of construction workers' helmets to differentiate between undocumented and native workers. Flores also noted that Huddle's findings had not been subjected to anonymous peer review from a social science journal, and that the study had not been published in a professional journal.[8] Nevertheless, Huddle's research has been widely publicized within Texas and in the national press, and has been cited during floor debate on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill in both the Senate and the House.

In 1984, Thomas Muller of the Urban Institute published a summary of a study entitled The Fourth Wave. Muller rigorously analyzed special tabulations of Census and Current Population Survey data for Los Angeles and Southern California, and found that:

- There was no evidence that work opportunities for nonimmigrants lessened as a result of high rates of immigration. Unemployment rates rose less rapidly in Southern California than in the remainder of the nation from 1970 to 1980.

- Those industries with the highest percentages of Mexican labor had the slowest rates of wage increases. Immigrant domination of the occupations with increases below the national average suggests that immigrants themselves absorbed most of the effects of depressed wages.

- Lower wages in these industries enhanced their competitiveness, during an influx of lower-cost foreign goods. As a result, manufacturing sectors which experienced decreased employment nationwide actually expanded in Los Angeles, adding positions for skilled and white-collar workers to complement the immigrant-dominated, unskilled production jobs.

- Despite wage depression in some sectors, wages of all employees, already above the national average, rose nine percent more rapidly in Los Angeles than in the nation in the 1970-80 period.

- Despite the arrival of 325,000 Hispanics, whose average income was only half the average income for the area, per capita income from all private sources rose more rapidly in Los Angeles than in the nation as a whole. During the same time, per capita growth in transfer payments, (e.g., public assistance) was considerably lower than in most other metropolitan areas.[9]

Julian Simon and Stephen Moore of the University of Maryland are nearing completion of a study on the effects of immigration on unemployment. Simon and Moore are examining changes in unemployment levels in cities as a function of varying rates of immigration to those cities. Using changes in unemployment levels avoids many of the methodological pitfalls that North identified in the Chamber study. Simon and Moore have found that:

> ...there is no observed increase in unemployment due to immigration, even (or especially) in the relatively short run during which adjustment frictions should cause the most severe unemployment problem.[10]

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This study focuses on legal immigration, not undocumented immigration. Previous studies of this issue, however, have demonstrated that undocumented workers tend to be concentrated in localities with substantial numbers of legal immigrants of similar ethnicity. Nevertheless, the findings are not automatically applicable to the effects of the undocumented in the labor market.

University of Colorado economist Michael Greenwood utilized time-series data from the Social Security Administration to estimate the employment effects of immigration for selected cities. He found that:

> ...for New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, and San Fransisco, one more employed migrant results in one more job.... However, for Houston, El Paso, Philadelphia, and San Diego, one additional employed migrant resulted in more than one additional job.[11]

Greenwood further examined the Social Security data to determine the effects of immigration on wage levels. He found that, in the 11 cities studied:

> ...in each city, except El Paso and Philadelphia, migration had a statistically significant effect on local earnings levels. In Chicago the effect was negative, but in the remaining cities it was positive.[12]

Other researchers are beginning to address the more complicated question of how immigrant-dominated labor markets function. University of Texas professors Gilberto Cardenas, Rodolfo de la Garza, and Niles Hansen have discovered that many Mexican immigrants in Austin, Texas, tend to be employed by firms owned by other Mexican immigrants, or by second-generation Mexican Americans. According to these researchers, the presence of Mexican immigrants "has contributed significantly to the development, maintenance, and recent expansion of the Chicano business sector" in Austin by providing reliable, low-cost labor and by expanding the market for goods and services from the Chicano businesses.[13]

Sociologist Gary Lemons of the University of New Mexico has found the roofing industry in Albuquerque, New Mexico, to be increasingly immigrant-dominated. The vast majority of first-time, native roofing laborers leave their jobs within two weeks, even at entry-level wages of $3.75-$4.50 per hour. Employers have responded by seeking a more stable, low-turnover workforce of undocumented workers.[14]

Wayne Cornelius, who now heads the University of California at San Diego's Center on U.S.-Mexico Studies, and a number of associates have initiated a series of long-term studies designed to ascertain the way in which immigrant-dominated labor markets function. Cornelius is seeking to move beyond simple questions of the existence/level of displacement and wage depression to more sophisticated and complex questions of <u>why</u> immigrant-dominated labor markets function in certain ways. While their research is not yet complete, Cornelius, et. al., have found that:

> ...there is not one but many different paths to reliance upon immigrant labor. One category of firms and industries consists of those that have always been immigrant-dominated.... They have never employed significant numbers of non-Mexican workers, at least in lower-level production jobs. Examples would be seasonal agriculture, the poultry industry, and shoe and leather manufacturing.

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> Another category of immigrant-dominated firms are those in which the employers have had what they regard as negative experiences with alternative (non-immigrant) labor sources, like Anglo teenagers, blacks, or Indochinese refugees. These firms turned to Mexican immigrants in order to boost productivity, improve labor discipline, reduce absenteeism, or to stabilize their work force, since Mexican immigrants are likely to stay longer in the jobs for which they have initially been hired.... Restaurant owners, in particular, seem to have experimented with non-Mexican workers for menial jobs...but found them wanting, or could not retain them in these jobs.
>
> In another category of firms and industries, there was at one time a sizable presence of legal resident workers, but the influx of undocumented immigrants since the mid-1960s has caused them to be Mexicanized. The entry of large numbers of undocumented workers into these industries seems to have caused a gradual decay of labor standards and wage levels, provoking an exodus of legal immigrant workers.
>
> Another, much larger stratum of firms has gone to heavier reliance on undocumented immigrant labor because of intense competitive pressures.... These are the firms that have been "driven to the wall" by competition.... Examples in California would be small foundries and shoe and leather manufacturing firms.15

Cornelius has identified other key aspects of immigrant dominated labor markets. One is the "de-skilling" phenomenon. Cornelius explains:

> In still another class of firms and industries, technological innovations have made it possible to disperse and deskill large numbers of production jobs.... If the firm can divide up its production process sufficiently, it can move quickly to the end of the [product] cycle, dispensing with the middle stage of skilled labor. This has happened increasingly in electronics, but even in far less technologically sophisticated industries like poultry, [and] even some of the service sectors and the construction industry.16

This phenomenon results in the increasing use of subcontracts between well-established, often highly unionized firms and small, often immigrant-dominated firms. According to Cornelius, many of these smaller firms are:

> ...part of the underground economy, paying few or no taxes and avoiding other contacts with government agencies. They are extremely abusive and hyperexploitative of their workers, offering no job security and no opportunities for upward mobility.17

III. EFFECTS ON NATIVE BLACK WORKERS

One variant of the displacement thesis is the idea that undocumented workers have a disproportionate, negative effect on Black and other disadvantaged native workers. Ray Marshall, for example, has noted that:

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> ...the costs [of illegal immigration] include increased inequality of income between advantaged and disadvantaged persons in this country -- inequality resulting from the increased job competition and depressed wages and working conditions for the almost 30 million low-skilled U.S. workers who compete directly with illegal immigrants.18

Some predominantly Black organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), also contend that undocumented workers displace Black workers to a significant degree.

George Borjas, an economist with the University of California at Santa Barbara, has concluded that Hispanic immigrant labor and non-Hispanic labor are generally not "interchangeable," i.e., these two groups do not generally compete for the same types of jobs. Based on analyses of the 1970 Census and the 1976 Survey of Income and Education, Borjas suggests that:

> The data clearly show that the entry of Hispanics in the local labor market did <u>not</u> lead to a decline in black earnings and employment, or in the earnings of any other non-Hispanic group. Rather, the emergence of Hispanics as a large group in the labor market may have led to a small <u>increase</u> in black earnings and employment. These results clearly show that the conventional wisdom of Hispanics "taking jobs away" from blacks is not supported by the data.19

Muller's research verifies Borjas' conclusion that increases in Hispanic immigrant workers do not appear to adversely affect Black employment or earnings. Muller notes that:

> Our examination of black unemployment rates and the concentration of Hispanics in more than 230 large metropolitan areas across the country shows no statistical relationship between the size of the Hispanic population and black unemployment.... An analysis of the black unemployment rate and the size of the Mexican immigrant population in Southwestern metropolitan areas indeed suggests a negative relationship.20

The one subgroup that would appear to be the most vulnerable to increased job competition from the relatively unskilled undocumented workforce is Black teenagers. However, Muller found that:

> Even the job prospects for black teenagers do not appear to be adversely affected by the influx of immigrants. Total teenage unemployment in Southern California is close to the national average, but unemployment among black teenagers is substantially lower than average.21

Muller also found that earnings of Black workers were not affected by increased immigration:

> Within California, income gains for blacks were greater in Los Angeles County than in the metropolitan areas with few Hispanic immigrants.... This pattern is not limited to California. Blacks in San Antonio, a city with a large Hispanic labor force, had the

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highest income increases of any large metropolitan area. Blacks in Houston also progressed rapidly.[22]

IV. INTERPRETING THE RESEARCH

A. Overview

The apparent lack of consensus among researchers on the displacement issue is clearly reflected in the debate over immigration policy. Advocates for restrictive immigration policies have embraced the view that undocumented workers cause widespread displacement, both directly and indirectly, through the lowering of wages and labor standards. These advocates consistently cite Briggs, Marshall, et. al., to support their position.

Opponents have taken the opposite view. Initially, these opponents of restrictive immigration policies cited Piore and Cornelius to support their position that the undocumented take jobs that "Americans don't want." More recently, these advocates have relied on Muller's research to refute the displacement thesis.

Yet, advocates on both sides have been unable to articulate strong methodological challenges to their opponents' studies. Advocates and policy makers have either ignored research that is inconsistent with their views, or have advanced *ad hominen* attacks against their authors. For example, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), while dismissing Cornelius as "an apologist for illegal immigration," has never advanced a cogent rebuttal to his findings.[23] FAIR has also cited Muller's findings about wage depression in immigrant-dominated industries in its publications while omitting his conclusions about the positive net contributions of immigrants to the economy of California.[24]

Both sides have apparently failed to recognize the essential truths, notwithstanding the limitations, of their opponents' positions. The following analysis is an attempt to integrate elements of the Briggs-Marshall-North and the Prlore-Cornelius-Simon schools of thought, consistent with the latest empirical data.

B. Analysis

The question of whether any displacement takes place is essentially moot. As Simon and Moore point out:

> Indeed, <u>some</u> displacement <u>must</u> occur [as a result of immigration]. Unless immigrants immediately become self-employed, for a time they necessarily increase competition in the labor force. Some natives must therefore find it temporarily harder than otherwise to find or keep a job.[25]

Nor, for that matter, is there much question about the initial effect of increased labor market competition on wages. All the empirical studies, consistent with Marshall's theoretical analysis, show that wages in immigrant-dominated sectors of the economy are lower than would be expected otherwise.

The reverse is also true; that is, no displacement can occur unless some native workers choose not to accept some jobs. Rutgers University economist Mark Killingsworth explains:

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...so long as native labor will work no matter how high or low the wage is, no displacement of natives by immigrants can possibly occur.26

When the effects of undocumented immigration are analyzed in isolation, as per the Briggs-Marshall-North approach, one cannot avoid the conclusion that both displacement and wage depression take place. This approach, however, fails to take into account compensating factors accompanying influxes of undocumented workers that tend to offset at least to some degree the initial wage depression and displacement effects caused by the undocumented. These compensating factors include:

- Increased demand: As consumers, immigrants inevitably increase demand for all goods and services. Moreover, as Cardenas, et. al. found, they tend to contribute to the growth and expansion of certain "ethnic enterprises" which employ immigrants, and have substantial immigrant clienteles. The entire economy benefits, and job opportunities for natives in the general economy are enhanced. North has documented that many immigrants send substantial sums of money "back home." When these remittances are taken into account, it appears that immigrants are equivalent to about three-quarters of a native consumer.

- Increased Productivity: If defined as increased output per unit of labor costs, then the lower wages paid to the undocumented, by definition, increase productivity. Consider the following examples:

  .. In traditionally immigrant-dominated industries, which might disappear altogether without the presence of undocumented workers, the influx of such workers helps to retain the complementary white-collar and managerial jobs in that industry. Virtually all the upper-tier jobs are held by natives.

  .. Manufacturing firms that would otherwise relocate or go out of business due to high labor costs and foreign competition are retained, and possibly even grow. Job losses for both natives and immigrants are avoided.

- Lower Prices: Goods and services provided by immigrant-dominated firms have lower prices to reflect the reduced cost of labor. The cost of living is reduced and domestic goods remain competitive with foreign imports, with concomitant benefits for both natives and immigrants. Since immigrants themselves absorb most of the effects of lower wages, natives benefit disproportionately from lower prices.

Not all of these factors can be quantified individually, but Muller has shown that the benefits from increased productivity in an area such as Southern California can be significant:

...perhaps 52,000 low-wage jobs in highly competitive manufacturing industries would not exist if Mexicans were not present.... There

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is little question that, when all factors are considered, Mexican immigrants are a definite plus to the local economy.[27]

But what about the "good" jobs? Muller found that white-collar jobs in Los Angeles during the 1970-80 period grew at a rate about one-third higher than the national average. Of the more than 220,000 new white-collar jobs created in Los Angeles during that decade, Muller concluded that about 62,000 were filled by immigrants. Thus, the expansion of low-wage manufacturing jobs -- at least partially attributable to immigration -- helped to provide white-collar employment opportunities for about 152,000 native workers.[28]

Cornelius' work on the deskilling and subcontracting phenomenon helps to explain the benefits that native blue-collar workers accrue from the presence of illegal immigrant workers:

> ...the competitiveness of many large, upper-tier businesses in which immigrants do not predominate in the workforce depends increasingly on their ability to subcontract work to smaller firms that <u>are</u> immigrant dominated.... As international pressures increase, well-paying unionized jobs in the mainstream firms are being protected by a buffer of non-union, immigrant dominated firms. In other words, "bad" jobs are protecting not an insignificant number of "good" jobs in the U.S. economy.[29]

Yet the influx of immigrant workers does appear to have some negative effects on unskilled, disadvantaged, predominantly minority workers. Borjas, Muller, and others have not been able to discern a relationship between immigration and Black unemployment rates. There is, however, no doubt that many unskilled Blacks, Hispanics, and other disadvantaged workers were, at one time, displaced from the low-wage manufacturing and service sectors. In addition, as Briggs, Marshall, et. al. theorized, Muller's data confirm that wages in the immigrant-dominated industries are lower than would be expected if no undocumented immigrants were present.

How, then, can these seemingly incompatible sets of facts be reconciled? Consider the following analysis:

- A significant, but unknown, number of low-wage service and manufacturing jobs have been retained in areas like Southern California due to the influx of undocumented workers. Native Blacks and Hispanics hold a lower percentage of these jobs than might otherwise be expected, due to direct job competition from immigrants. Wages and labor standards are lower than in non-immigrant-dominated industries. Overall, in comparison with areas with few immigrants, more manufacturing and service jobs exist, retaining about the same absolute number of job opportunities for native disadvantaged workers, despite the declining percentage of native workers holding these jobs.

- A significant number of complementary white-collar and skilled blue-collar jobs are retained and/or created in part due to the expanding number of highly productive lower-tier jobs. Native Black and Hispanic workers fill an increasing proportion of these "good" jobs, many of which would not exist without the presence of undocumented immigrants, offsetting some effects of displacement.

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- Increased demand for consumer goods and services caused by the immigrant influx and by rising incomes stimulates job growth in retail, clerical, and non-immigrant-dominated service industries. Most of these positions require proficiency in English, and are therefore limited almost exclusively to native or legal workers, including increasing numbers of blacks and Hispanics who might otherwise be competing for unskilled manufacturing and service jobs.

In this scenario, some native Blacks and Hispanics are negatively affected by the immigrant influx, through the loss of job opportunities in unskilled blue-collar and service industries. Those native workers that remain in those industries are hurt also by lower wages and deteriorating wage standards. At the same time, however, other, upwardly-mobile native Blacks and Hispanics find greater opportunities for "good" jobs. Muller explains:

> The influx of unskilled workers [in California] enabled the number of professional and other skilled jobs to grow, providing opportunities for native-born English-speaking workers, including minorities, to improve their work status.... [W]e found substantial occupational progress among blacks, particularly among black women. The number of blacks in professional occupations doubled; the number in low wage occupations either remained stable or declined.30

During this period, the demand for goods and services overall creates additional employment opportunities for all native workers. Disadvantaged workers are benefitted especially by growth in retail, clerical, and some kinds of service jobs, e.g., fast food, government jobs. Thus, although certain groups of native workers are displaced directly, and others suffer from depressed wages and working conditions, other members of these groups benefit. This appears to be one plausible explanation for the apparent contradiction between the intuitively obvious and logical arguments advanced by Briggs, Marshall, North, et. al., and the as yet unchallenged empirical findings of Muller, Simon, Cornelius, et. al.

Moreover, elements of the Piore-Cornelius dual labor market theory are verified in much the same way. Little in the way of direct or indirect displacement seems to occur in the industries that have traditionally been immigrant-dominated. Moreover, no true displacement takes place in the ethnic enclave firms that owe their existence to the presence of large immigrant populations. Finally, for some manufacturing and industries that are becoming immigrant-dominated, displacement may have occurred at one time, but even the removal of the undocumented from the labor force would not increase jobs for natives, since most of these firms would relocate or go out of business in the absence of undocumented workers. These jobs, once in the upper (or at least middle) tier of the segmented labor market, have been transformed by illegal immigration into jobs that "Americans don't want."

V. CONCLUSION

This Issue Brief is an attempt to provide a straightforward analysis of the major research on this issue. For too long, both sides of the debate over employer sanctions have found refuge in theories that support their pre-determined positions, irrespective of the empirical data.

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The recent research findings show that, while immigrant inflows do result in wage depression, erosion of working conditions, and job displacement in some industries, the net, macroeconomic effects of recent immigrant flows appear to be neutral, or even positive.

Another significant research finding involves the the differential effects that immigrant workers have on various industries. Given that there are different paths to reliance on immigrant workers which vary according to industry, and perhaps geography as well, this finding should not be surprising. Yet many advocates persist in characterizing the effects of immigrant labor in very general terms, or attempt to attribute the specific effects of immigrant workers on a single industry to the entire labor market. The next generation of research should more clearly identify the effects of immigrant workers on wages and job opportunities for natives in specific industries and locations.

This analysis of recent research demonstrates that there is considerable merit in both sides of the debate over the displacement issue. This recent research presents an opportunity to direct the policy and legislative debate on the immigration issue away from ideology and toward a greater, more critical understanding of the empirical data.

For more information, or copies of the cited material, please contact Charles Kamasaki or Dan Purtell at (202) 628-9600.

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